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ABSTRACT

This pamphlet deals with the problem of discrimination in education and the implications for change that accompany this problem. The pamphlet documents court decisions that have established legal guidelines for desegregation and cites research that supports the basic premise that separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. The role of the community power structure in the desegregation process is discussed. An overview of the characteristics of culturally deprived children and a resume of the typical social-psychological environment of many Negro children are included. Extending this picture is information about a specific school population drawn from a previous study of a predominantly Negro elementary school. The conclusion presents some guidelines for action to implement changes in schools on a broad and systematic basis. (MF)

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IMPLEMENTING INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION: A FRAME OF REFERENCE

EDITH ROMANO

CENTRAL NEW YORK
SCHOOL STUDY COUNCIL

EA 002 730

Monograph 1

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IMPLEMENTING INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION: A FRAME OF REFERENCE

by

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Luton R. Reed, Editor
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A FORWARD . . . . . .

Perhaps the greatest need of and for a philosophy of education at the present time is the urgent need that exists for making clear in idea and effective in practice that its end is social, and that the criterion to be applied in estimating the value of the practices that exist in schools is also social. It is true that the aim of education is development of individuals to the utmost of their potentialities. But this statement in isolation leaves unanswered the question as to what is the measure of the development. A society of free individuals in which all, through their own work, contribute to the liberation and enrichment of the lives of others, is the only environment in which any individual can really grow normally to his full stature.

—John Dewey

INTRODUCTION

We are involved today in one of the most important debates of our times and upon its outcome hinges our strength as a nation and our position of leadership in a free world. Although it may seem inconceivable, to some, the central issue of this debate is simply should the people of a democratic country need to decide whether its rights and opportunities should be equally available to all of its members. Each of our institutions is undergoing critical scrutiny and education in particular has been called to task in its central role as one of the major agents of our culture.

Our national stake in this debate is multi-faceted. Perhaps the facets are all too obvious, nonetheless they seem to bear reviewing.

In contemporary America certain status distinctions are associated with minority positions and these distinctions are mirrored in our schools. Those schools which enroll a predominantly Negro population are perceived as being lower in status than those serving the white community and are frequently less adequate in meeting their responsibilities.

Many scholars of history and society have stated the thesis that the survival of cultures through the ages has depended primarily upon their success in transmitting their skills, concepts and values to youth. This is no less true of our way of life than it has been of the civilizations that thrived and declined before us. As our educational system is effective in communicating the knowledge and ideas relevant to living in a democratic world, to that degree will we ensure our own survival. It is to this problem and its implications for educational change that this paper is addressed. Those whose knowledge and experience lie in the field of education and behavioral sciences have a unique contribution to make as citizens and professionals. Since the author has been serving as a member of a board of education of an urban area deeply involved in efforts to eliminate racial imbalance in its schools, the problem is of immediate personal interest. However the issue requires the participation of every responsible citizen because of its cruciality to the future of the country.

To exclude substantial numbers of young people from the benefit of an education which enables them to render their

maximum contribution to this effort is to diminish our own strength. The damage is not static; it is progressive and breeds upon itself. The cycle of inadequate educational experience, limited economic opportunity, poverty, ignorance, slum neighborhoods, a cultural background which differs from the norm, an educational system which fails to provide adequate educational opportunity is a vicious chain not easily broken.

The magnitude of the problem is demonstrated in the estimate that in 1960, one out of every three children in the fourteen largest cities of the United States was culturally deprived.[1] By 1970, there may be one deprived child for every two enrolled in the schools of these cities.[2] It has been calculated further that "no matter how social class may be defined - whether in terms of wealth, education, style of life, occupation or aspiration - approximately 70 to 80 per cent of the Negro population in larger northern cities are lower class."[3] To be sure, this has major significance for their way of life and special educational requirements.

Allied with the need of a society to transmit its culture to youth is the concomitant need in a democracy to deal with the influences which seek to weaken democracy itself. Bigotry, prejudice, anti-intellectualism and above all the inability to think critically make us easy prey to such forces. Though the educated are not immune, those lacking in education may well contribute disproportionately, and potential alienation is abetted by denial of equality of opportunity.

Our failure to educate the members of our minority groups properly and the ensuing waste of human resources has been viewed also as a serious economic liability. It is startling that during the school months of 1962 from 600,000 to 800,000 young people between 16 and 21 - as many as the population of cities such as San Francisco, St. Louis or Boston - were out of school and unemployed. This represents about one in six of all the unemployed who are out of school, though this age group makes up only about one in fourteen of the nation's labor force. Unemployment among teenage Negro youth is double that of white boys and girls.

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[1]The terms culturally deprived, culturally disadvantaged, underprivileged, and others with similar reference, are used interchangeably throughout the paper.

[2]Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 1.

[3]Daniel C. Thompson, "Our Wasted Potential," Integrating the Urban School, ed. by Gordon J. Klopf and Israel A. Laster (New York: Bureau of Publications Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), p. 4.

School dropouts suffer most from unemployment and have greater difficulty finding work.[1]

Perhaps the most compelling argument for our need to concern ourselves with the issue is in terms of its impact upon the culturally deprived individual himself. For Negro youth, discrimination and educational disadvantage are often synonymous, and both have a degrading and debilitating effect upon him. A large body of research may be cited to document this observation.

Finally, there is a source of concern which, should we be honest with ourselves, preempts all the others. John Donne, the English poet expressed it beautifully when he said,

> . . . . . No man is an I land, intire of it selfe; every man is a peece of the Continent, a part of the maine; . . . any mans death diminishes me, because I am involved in Mankinde, . . .

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[1] The Challenge of Jobless Youth, A Report of the President's Committee on Youth Employment (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, April 1963), p. 2.

CHAPTER 1

THE FERMENT

> To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.[1]

As Americans, we regard ourselves in somewhat awesome terms. We are the keepers of a formidable legacy of values: of justice, reason, truth, of the brotherhood of man, peace, the good life, of mutual respect, human dignity, neighborliness.

A Swedish observer of our culture, Myrdal, commented that "America, compared to every other country in Western Civilization, large or small, has the most explicitly expressed system of general values in reference to human relationships." Moreover, he notes, "this body of ideals is more widely understood and appreciated than similar ideals are anywhere else."[2]

It is precisely because of our commitment to these beliefs, and our growing consciousness of our image in the eyes of the world that we are engaged today in a re-examination of how well our institutions and practices are serving our democratic philosophy.

Our Value Conflict

As we appraise the current social scene we cannot deny that our doctrines are challenged by the circumstances of every day life for substantial numbers of individuals who comprise our social minorities, particularly the Negro American. Everywhere there is the ferment of his dissatisfaction, of deepening empathy with him, but all too often of antipathy to him, and to his purposes.

We are confronted with a dilemma in valuation. On the one hand we uphold the worth, the dignity and the right of every individual to equal opportunity; at the same time we accept

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[1] Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954), p. 494.

[2] Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944) Vol. 1, p. 3.

as a truism that individuals differ. Indeed, we take pride in these differences and in our "melting pot" heritage. We talk glibly of fostering individuality and denounce the vestiges of rigid conformity in our social institutions. But our pronouncements are empty for some, for we have not valued these two great ideals equally for all.

In essence, the democracy of equal opportunity, of worth and dignity for every individual has been defined within circumscribed limits in relation to the concept of individual differences. We have shown in our behavior, our folkways, our mores and even our laws, that the rights and privileges of a democracy are reserved to those who differ only within certain unwritten bounds.

There is, however, a climate of change. In many spheres we are recognizing inconsistencies, and beginning to revise institutions unsuited to their task. Though a broad gap exists between ideals and practice, traditional values are being re-emphasized in our public documents. A widely circulated digest of the citizens' handbook of great issues, "Goals for Americans," exemplifies this trend:

> The last "stubborn barriers" to equal justice and opportunity for all Americans are religious prejudice, handicaps to women, and - above all - racial discrimination. These "must be recognized as morally wrong, economically wasteful, and in many respects dangerous."
>
> "Respect for the individual means respect for every individual.....Every man must have equal rights before the law, and an equal opportunity to vote and hold office, to be educated, to get a job and to be promoted when qualified, to buy a home, to participate fully in community affairs."[1]

The Negro today, in a well organized social revolt, is fighting on all of these fronts. Indeed, it has been said, he is fighting for his right to be a Negro and in so doing, for "his right to be."[2] He is demanding, with a sense of immediacy, that the rights of citizenship, the opportunity to "participate fully in community affairs," not to be denied him on the basis of racial difference.

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[1]Pamphlet digest of Goals for Americans, Report of the President's Commission on National Goals, November 1960, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1960).

[2]Joseph Monserrat, "Social Integration: A Puerto Rican View," Integrating the Urban School, ed. by Gordon J. Klopf and Israel A. Laster (New York: Bureau of Publications Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), p. 48.

In an increasingly complex society which depends upon achievement at many levels, which requires some salable commodity from each of us if we are to exist, where unskilled workers are in decreasing demand, and where the tasks of ordinary citizenry are beyond the comprehension of the uneducated, education itself is the sine qua non not only of being, but also of becoming.

In recognition of this principle the Negro revolt has focused upon the inequalities of segregated education and is unwilling to accept delay. In addition, it has renounced the argument that since residential patterns are responsible for segregation in the schools in northern communities, this problem should be attacked first.

The Dodson report pointed out, "It is basically through the mechanism of the public school that members of a group occupying an inferior position in our society can achieve equal opportunities. Help in breaking down economic, social and cultural barriers should begin with the public schools."[1]

The Legal Impetus for Change

On May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court rejected the doctrine of Plessy v. Ferguson that "separation did not necessarily mean inferiority."[2] A decision was rendered which represents a landmark in the struggle of the Negro people for equality; a high point in the efforts of Americans to move towards eliminating racial discrimination, and a significant change in our "double standard" of values in the light of scientific evidence. Principles long accepted by psychologists and sociologists were recognized in our highest court. In a coalition of law and science, it was made clear that in the field of public education, the doctrine of "separate but equal" was clearly unequal:

> Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of the child to learn.....

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[1] "The New Rochelle Decision," Journal of Educational Sociology, XXXVI, (February 1963), 265.

[2] Plessy v. Ferguson 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

> We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.[1]

It is of additional interest that de jure discrimination had been forbidden in New York State by statute long before the Brown decision. Section 3201 of the New York Education Law provides:

> No person shall be refused admission into or excluded from any public school in the state of New York on account of race, creed, color or national origin.[2]

While the Brown decision has been interpreted generally as requiring racially motivated action to establish violation of the constitution, the psychological evidence undergirding the Supreme Court decision is no less valid for schools which have become "segregated" without legal intention, because of ghetto housing patterns (de facto) than for those segregated through deliberate state action (de jure).

In many communities across the nation, school boards have taken this position and have called for a re-examination of their schools by all citizens. In New York this effort was given impetus in a policy statement of the Board of Regents adopted on January 28, 1960. The Regents declared:

> Modern psychological knowledge indicates that schools enrolling students largely of homogeneous ethnic origin, may damage the personality of minority group children. Such schools decrease their motivation and thus impair the ability to learn. Public education in such a setting is socially unrealistic, blocks the attainment of the goals of democratic education, and is wasteful of manpower and talent, whether this situation occurs by law or by fact.[3]

In June 1963, New York State's Commissioner of Education, James E. Allen, Jr., in a special message to all chief school administrators and Boards of Education, attempted to implement both the Supreme Court Decision of 1954 and the Board of Regents policy. He requested:

> 1. A statement indicating the situation in your district with regard to any problem of racial imbalance.....

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[1] Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

[2] New York Education Law (1910) par. 3201.

[3] Statement of Policy on DeFacto Segregated Public Schools, The Board of Regents, The University of the State of New York, January 28, 1960.

2. A statement of policy by your board of education with respect to maintenance of racial balance in your schools.

3. In districts where racial imbalance exists..... a progress report towards eliminating it.

4. In such districts, your plan for further action.....

These requests were regarded as nothing more nor less than a logical extension of state law and policy, necessary if the principle of equality of educational opportunity is to apply to all "regardless of race, color, creed or economical background."[1]

The Current Controversy: Emerging Legal Guidelines For Desegregation

In response to the mandate of federal and state law, communities may adopt any of several types of plans for desegregation depending on the unique features of the district:

1) Rezoning to cut across white and Negro neighborhoods.

2) The Princeton Plan or Paired Schools, assigning students by grade to two or three schools combined in a single attendance area. For example, all children in kindergarten through grade three are assigned to one school; those in grades four through six to a second.

3) Closing segregated schools and reassigning students and teachers to existing schools.

4) Eliminating permissive and optional transfers which enable white pupils to avoid predominantly Negro schools.

5) Selecting school sites to achieve desegregation as a long range plan.

6) The use of mobile classrooms to create underutilized space or to follow shifting enrollment patterns.

7) An "open enrollment" policy which permits voluntary transfers of students from Negro schools to underpopulated, predominantly white schools. This has been perhaps the most publicized desegregation plan in the North, and considered the least effective whenever any other plan can be adopted.[2]

Some would maintain that a school board has no right to

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[1]Statement of James E. Allen, Jr., Commissioner of Education, The State Education Department, The University of the State of New York, Albany, June 14, 1963.

[2]June Shagaloff, "A Review of Public School Desegregation in the North and West," The Journal of Educational Sociology, XXXVI (February 1963), 294.

take race into account in pupil assignment, and that to do so is to violate the "right" of pupils to attend their neighborhood school. This, they contend, amounts to reverse discrimination. Others hold that when racial imbalance exists, a school board must act positively to achieve approximate racial balance in each school. Not to do so is to deny pupils equality of educational opportunity.

As school boards have taken action, and have been sued in counteractions, a body of case law has emerged. An appraisal of this litigation at the federal level and in New York State suggests some generalizations which may serve as guidelines to boards of education and school administrators attempting to deal with racial imbalance in their districts. These general legal principles have been summarized by the Committee on Civil Rights of the New York State Bar Association:

1. A school board is forbidden, both Constitutionally and by state law, to take action designed to segregate school children on the basis of race. This prohibition exists whether the "action" takes the form of gerrymandering or (so long as the forebidden racial motivation exists) of simply perpetuating existing attendance zones where racial segregation results.

2. Where no discriminatory intent exists, school officials are permitted to take reasonable corrective action aimed at reducing racial imbalance, even in the absence of any Constitutional or state law requirement for such action. The harm that many educational authorities believe is done by racial separation is a most important factor in assessing the reasonableness of the corrective action, but this must be balanced with other educational values, safety, costs and other administrative concerns. School officials have a wide area of discretion in weighing the various factors, and their decisions will not be overturned by the courts unless arbitrary and unreasonable.

3. There appears to be emerging an affirmative duty requiring school authorities, even in the absence of discrimination, to take reasonable corrective action to alleviate extreme racial imbalance. Whether such a duty ever exists as a Constitutional requirement remains in doubt, but the present New York authorities indicate that such a requirement exists in any event under State law

as implemented by the Board of Regents and the Commissioner of Education.[1]

The determination of arbitrariness or capriciousness and the reasonableness of the action of any administrative tribunal such as a board of education or the State Commissioner of Education are the critical factors, as they have been in legal tradition with respect to such agencies. The concept that consideration of factors of race to alleviate racial imbalance violates federal or state law has been rejected, as has the rather ionic reasoning that Section 3201 of the New York Education Law precludes desegregation.[2] The New Jersey Supreme Court declared that "constitutional color blindness" is apt in the frame of reference of eliminating segregation, but not as an attack on official efforts to do so.[3] Similarly, it has been ruled that if Section 3201 were to be given the reverse meaning, it would become a segregation statute mandating continuation of racial imbalance and "making de jure that which is now merely de facto."[4]

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[1] Racial Imbalance in the Public Schools: The Current Status of Federal and New York Law, A Report by the Committee on Civil Rights, New York State Bar Association, (October 20, 1964), pp. 10-11.

[2] Several major decisions have been rendered in New York State which are of interest in the problem of racial imbalance. The reader is referred to:

Katalinic V. City of Syracuse (44 Misc 2d 734) 1964. The writer is especially indebted to the kindness of Judge John H. Farnham in providing a personal copy of his decision in this case prior to its publication in the official New York Law Reports.

Balaban V. Rubin (14 N.Y. 2d 193) 1964
Vetere V. Allen (15 N.Y. 2d 259) 1965
Strippoli V. Bickal (16 N.Y. 2d 652) 1965
DiSano V. Storandt (22 A D 2d 6) 1964
Van Blerkom V. Donovan (15 N.Y. 2d 399) 1965
Addabbo V. Donovan (16 N.Y. 2d 619) 1965
Schnepp V. Donovan (43 Misc 2d 947) 1964
Etter V. Littwitz (47 Misc 2d 473) 1965

[3] 200 A. 2 D at 100 cited in Racial Imbalance in the Public Schools: The Current Status of Federal and New York Law, p. 5.

[4] Balaban V. Rubin, 14 N.Y. 2d 193 (1964).

CHAPTER II

SOME THEMES OF DISSENT

New Ways disturb old habits and are likely to bring resistance in their wake. New equalities for some may threaten the old securities of others. A number of recurring themes of dissent have arisen out of the efforts to implement law and ethics for the restoration of racial balance in the schools of northern communities. Some are raised in a sincere difference with the concepts or actions involved; others are based in the deep seated fears and anxieties of the objectors and may be understood only in terms of the dynamics of prejudice.[1]

Non-Acceptance of A Basic Premise

One major source of dissent is the non-acceptance of the basic premise that separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Those who take this position will often point to the "impact" or "saturation" programs for a predominantly Negro population to reinforce their position.[2]

Frank Riessman presents a critical evaluation of the Higher Horizons program in New York which may serve as a case in point.[3] The aim of the program was to identify, stimulate and guide able students from lower socio-economic homes into college channels. The approach included an attempt to improve children's self-image by remedial reading, special library experiences, intensive counselling service, an intensive cultural program and, after hours opening of classrooms for study purposes.

Riessman notes the apparent success of the program in

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[1]See for example the work of T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel J. Levinson, and R. Nevitt Sanford, The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950). Bruno Bettleheim and Morris Janowitz, Dynamics of Prejudice, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950). Selma Hirsch, Fear and Prejudice, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 245, New York, 1957, p. 4, and numerous other contributions.

[2]Terms quoted are used to refer to the many fine programs instituted throughout the country to "equalize" educational opportunity by providing multidisciplinary services and attempting to individualize instruction. Examples are the Higher Horizons program in New York City, The Great Cities Improvement Project in the thirteen major cities, The Madison Area Project in Syracuse, N.Y. and numerous others.

[3]Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child (New York: Harper & Brothers), pp. 98 ff.

the improvement of reading ability, grades, I.Q.'s, attendance, discipline, and parent participation. In his critique he praises the defeat of the concept of "environmental determinism," that is the assumption that a difficult early environment cannot be overcome. In describing the program he points to the belief that children from deprived circumstances can learn, and that teachers can be devoted.

But the program does not go far enough, he states.[1] After suggesting the possibility of a Hawthorn Effect,[2] he criticizes the tendency of the project to overlook the positive characteristics of the underprivileged child's family and life experience. He decries its accent on the limitations of the underprivileged and its failure to place any blame on the school or teacher for the separation between school and child. He objects to its lack of realization of the different "mental style" of the deprived child, his coping mechanisms, alienation and anger, or his own good culture.

Commenting on the motivation for the Higher Horizons Movement, Riessman cites these factors:

1) Economic and scientific competition with the Soviet world;
2) The desire to prove to the world that we are democratic and that the disadvantaged are not ignored in our affluent society;
3) The rise of juvenile delinquency, especially the violent gang, and its threat to middle-class mores.

Riessman recognizes that some of the reasons for concern may be worthy, but "none of them is directly concerned with the lower socio-economic groups themselves, and their aims and aspirations." On the other hand, he lauds the fact that the program demonstrates that the culturally deprived can be educated," . . . an important service in this age of non-belief."[3]

This critique calls attention to the weaknesses of at least one well regarded compensatory program, from the point of view of a competent observer. While one cannot generalize that similar programs suffer from similar inadequacies, it

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[1] Ibid., p. 111.

[2] See F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, Management and the Worker (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939).

[3] Riessman, op. cit., pp. 110 f.

is apparent that the argument of those who would depend solely upon such an approach must be viewed with extreme caution.

Not all schools which are racially segregated offer an "impact" program. Patricia Sexton has studied the relationship between socio-economic status and the quality of education provided for children in the public schools of a northern urban community. Her data reveal that curricula, educational standards, quality of teaching, educational facilities, materials and academic achievement of the children are directly related to the socio-economic status of the majority of children attending a particular school.[1]

The relationship between academic achievement and socio-economic status is often interpreted as reflecting a selective factor wherein individuals of high intelligence attain high socio-economic status and produce more intelligent children, and that higher status families provide their children with more stimulation for academic achievement.

The data offered by Sexton, however, point to the crucial role of the school in determining the level of academic achievement of the children.[2] She describes stratification in a public school system which makes it virtually impossible for culturally deprived children to compete on equal terms with culturally privileged children.

Max Wolff has called attention to the "double stigma" of the Negro:

> Not only he, himself, and his group, but also his social environment, the neighborhood in which he resides, the church to which he belongs, the school which his children attend are deemed "inferior." The Negro ghetto and its institutions are subject to constant psychological attack in the press, the magazines, on television, and in the minds of the white community . . . . .[3]

Thus, the burden of prejudice born by the Negro child in a segregated school setting, de facto or de jure, is indeed a heavy one.

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[1] Patricia C. Sexton, Education and Income (New York: Viking, 1961).

[2] See the discussion of this point by Kenneth B. Clark, "Educational Stimulation of Racially Disadvantaged Children," Education in Depressed Areas, ed. by A. Harry Passow (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), p. 146.

[3] Max Wolff, "The Issues in Integration," Journal of Educational Sociology, XXXVI (February 1963), 242-243.

Wolff is not alone in noting aspects of the inferiority of the segregated school which are difficult to measure. These may include the attitudes of the staff and administration of the entire system and of the school per se. They may run the gamut of healthy respect for the child, his family, and the program, through the perspective of teacher or administrator who perceives himself as making a dedicated contribution to the less fortunate, to downright devaluation of the school, its personnel and its goals.

Ausubel, among other behavioral scientists, considers the psychological damage from discrimination to be minimized in integrated schools where Negro children can directly compare themselves with white children. In segregated schools they are deprived of this stimulation, and in comparing themselves to other children feel more depressed and less able to compete adequately, even though the children may be part of the encapsulated community, no better off than they are.[1]

A study by Boyd supports this view. Negro children and lower class white children who attend schools with a heterogeneous social class and racial population are in a more favorable developmental situation. Under these conditions the unfavored group is stimulated to compete more aggressively with the more privileged group in every day contacts and in aspirational behavior.[2]

Bernard has called attention to the implications of segregation for the ego development of both white and Negro children. Segregation, she states,

> . . . means that the personal worth of either a white or Negro person is measured solely by group membership regardless of individual merit. Such a measure is realistically false and of necessity distorts the developing self-image of Negro and white children as well as their view of each other. Under these psychological circumstances the Negro child . . . is burdened with inescapable inferiority feelings, a fixed ceiling so his aspiration level which can constrict the development of his potentialities, and a sense of humiliation and resentment which

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[1]D. P. Ausubel, "Ego Development Among Segregated Negro Children," Mental Hygiene, XLII (1958), 312-369.

[2]G. F. Boyd, "The Levels of Aspiration of White and Negro Children in a Non-Segragated Elementary School" Journal of Social Psychology, XXXVI (1952), 191-196.

can entail patterns of hatred against himself and his own group as well as against the dominant white group.[1]

Apart from the impact of segregation upon the developing ego of Negro and white children, numerous studies have concerned themselves with the implications for intellectual growth.

Clark observes that there is evidence that the trend found by Professor Otto Klineberg of Columbia, that a positive relation exists between the test scores of southern-born Negro children attending New York schools and their length of residence in New York City may be reversed.[2] It has been found, he states, that children who have recently migrated to New York, either from the South or the West Indies (other than Puerto Rico) tend to be superior in academic achievement to the native-born Negro child in the 4th through 6th grades in a New York City Public School.[3] Where Klineberg's work showed the most marked improvement in the first five or six years, Clark's evidence suggests that the rate of learning of the New York Negro children declines the longer they stay in this school.

The latter observation is true in a Syracuse, New York public school where the majority of children attending are Negro. A comparison of tests administered in grade 3 and grade 6 shows a slight decrease in score. It is hypothesized that socio-psychological or environmental factors are increasingly important in broadening the gap.[4]

Dr. Carl Hansen, Superintendent of Schools in Washington, D.C. has presented evidence that for five years subsequent to desegregation of the schools of that city in 1955:

1) Both white and Negro pupils have enjoyed educational opportunities superior to those previously available.

2) Negro pupils, on the whole, performed somewhat better during the subsequent five years on objective scholastic

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[1]Viola W. Bernard, "School Desegregation: Some Psychiatric Implications," Psychiatry, XXI (1958), 151.

[2]Kenneth B. Clark, "Segregated Schools in New York City" Journal of Educational Sociology, XXXVI (February 1963), 247.

[3]It is assumed from Clark's previous discussion that the school is used to typify the "increasingly more segregated" schools of New York City.

[4]"Survey of the Croton and Washington Irving Elementary Schools in the City of Syracuse." Study Staff of the School of Education in cooperation with the Bureau of School Services, Syracuse University, June 1963.

achievement tests than pupils during a similar period immediately preceding the abolition of segregation.

3) The white pupils in Washington schools performed at least as well during the subsequent five year period in terms of objectively measured achievement.[1]

It has been noted that the proponents of desegregation are convinced that the process itself produces desirable outcomes in terms of mutual understanding, respect, and appreciation for individuals and for races, which can be evaluated only in subjective ways.

Studies of certain white minorities show that social and psychological problems deriving from segregated situations are not peculiar to the American Negro. The Amish have voluntarily lived in relative segregation. A study of Amish children found that they believed they were not as smart or as strong as other children, and that other children did things better, reflecting feelings of inferiority and persecution.[2]

The Ainu, a white minority who have lived for centuries in Japan are a second case in point. They live in de facto segregation. "Their life is, generally speaking, comparatively simple, plain or poor. They lack social aspiration and idea of sanitation. As they are actualistic they do not care much about saving for the future and lack preparation and plan. Their movement is not quick and they soon get tired of work. Tuberculosis, syphilis and trachoma are said to be three great diseases of the race."[3]

Referring to the testimony of social psychologists before the Supreme Court, Dr. Clark makes a number of points which overlap evidence already presented and offered additional nuances.[4]

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[1]Dr. Hansen's article, which originally appeared in the Summer 1960 issue of the Harvard Educational Review, is excerpted in "The Scholastic Performances of Negro and White Pupils in the Integrated Public Schools of the District of Columbia." Journal of Educational Sociology, XXXVI (February 1963), 287-291.

[2]K. B. Clark, Prejudice and York Child (Boston: Beacon, 1955), p. 62.

[3]Y. Ohwaki, "Psychological Researches on the Personality of Ainu Children in Comparison with the Japanese" (1) Tohoku Psychologica Folia, XII (1951), 83-123 abstracted in "Integrating Syracuse Public Schools," A report prepared by Albert C. Ettinger, Field Representative, Syracuse Area Council State Commission for Human Rights (Syracuse, January 13, 1964, mimeographed.)

[4]Clark, op. cit., pp. 245 ff.

1) Racial segregation is potentially damaging to the personality of all children - the children of the majority in somewhat different ways than the children of the minority.

2) Minority children learn the inferior status to which they are assigned; observing their own segregation they develop feelings of inadequacy.

3) The minority child is in conflict about himself and his group and this leads to self-hatred and to the rejection of his own group.

4) Children must find ways of coping. Children will, of course, react differently, some by overt aggression. Middle class and upper class minority children tend to react by withdrawn and submissive behavior, with rigid conformity to prevailing middle class values and determination to succeed in spite of their status.

5) Minority group children of all classes often react with a defeatist attitude and lowering of personal ambitions. This is reflected particularly in segregated schools.

6) While there is a range of individual differences, evidence suggests that all these children are unnecessarily encumbered by segregation.

7) Majority children in segregated situations learn the prejudices of our society.

8) Majority children learn to gain personal status in an unrealistic and non-adaptive way. They may direct feelings of hostility towards whole groups, the members of which they perceive as weaker than themselves, and often develop patterns of guilt.

9) Confusion, conflict, moral cynicism and disrespect for authority may arise in majority group children as they are taught democratic principles by the same people who practice discrimination.

"There is no reason to believe that segregation due to other causes is significantly less damaging to the human personality than is legal segregation."[1]

Ausubel and Ausubel, following an exhaustive review of the psychological research on the personality development of children from economically and racially segregated families, contend that significant changes in the ego structure of Negro children are needed and that these may be brought about in two complementary ways:

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[1]Ibid, p. 246.

1) The elimination of all aspects of segregated and inferior caste status.

2) Initiation of various measures in school, family, and community to build self-esteem and enable the Negro to take advantage of new opportunities.

While they see the desegregated school as no panacea, it is viewed as "an important and indispensible first step in the reconstitution of Negro personality, since the school is the most strategically placed social institution for effecting rapid change both in ego structure and in social status."[1]

The Preservation of the Neighborhood School

The neighborhood school is raised as a second major issue both by sincere advocates of desegregation and by those who would use it as a guise to maintain the status quo. The essence of the argument is that the neighborhood school has an educational advantage since it provides an opportunity for a closer relationship between the school and the immediate community. This relationship increases the chance for communication between the parents and the school staff for the benefit of the children as well as maximizes citizen support for the school program.

An additional advantage is seen in the convenience of being close to home, particularly for elementary children while a third advantage is the economy which can be made by decreasing educational costs in cafeterias, personnel and transportation.

The issue of changing the traditional neighborhood school naturally arises as a factor in the problem of integrating schools in cities where a large nucleus of Negro children reside in a sprawling core of the community. Neighborhood patterns can no longer be observed and the alternative of bussing children to more remote areas comes under consideration.

The differences of opinion revolve around the weight which one attaches to the advantage of a neighborhood school when compared to the benefits of integration. The following comments made by Tumin during a conference dealing with the

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[1] David P. and Pearl Ausubel, "Ego Development Among Segregated Negro Children," Education in Depressed Areas, ed. by A. Harry Passow (New York: Bureau of Publications Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), pp. 109-142.

problems of integrating urban schools are a good example of this.

> . . . There is no way of making the magical leap from a condition of isolation, ghettoization and all the mutual distrust implied into free and easy going, peaceful neighborly relations. There is no way to integration except through desegregation.
>
> I make these observations appropos the claim that the neighborhood, housing and employment situations of school children and their parents are matters of social engineering not to be wrestled with by the schools . . . .[1]

Tumin later noted:

> . . . . Bussing kids out of their neighborhood is a shabby, though perhaps unavoidable, compromise with genuine desegregation of neighborhoods and schools. . . We do not really know. And since we do not really know, we cannot scream loudly for or against. . . .[2]

Another participant, Deutsch, stated:

> There may be certain circumstances where the physical conditions of integration may be of less immediate importance than establishing the most fostering environment for cognitive growth. . . .[3]

He then expressed the idea that it might be well to "keep in mind the eventual aims, and instead have the child spend the time for bussing in a type of all-day neighborhood school which offers a fostering educational experience." He indicated that he would hesitate to transport white middle-class or Negro children into slum areas, not because it would necessarily be bad for children, but that it might provide irrational fears on the part of parents and result in massive withdrawal of middle-class children - white and Negro - from the public schools, thereby creating a completely class and caste segregated public school system.

Though he would not envision a relaxation of children

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[1] Melvin Tumin, "The Process of Integration," Integrating the Urban School, ed. by Gordon J. Klopf and Israel A. Laster (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), p. 17.

[2] Ibid., p. 27.

[3] Martin Deutsch, "Dimensions of the School's Role in the Problems of Integration," Integrating the Urban School, p. 43.

traveling to boundary areas and does not imply that they should be bussed, Deutsch views bussing as one of many possible steps in the right direction which "should not be confused with the goals of eventual indigenous integration." Neither should it be seen as an end in itself, with the schools relaxing after arrangements are worked out.

Dan Dodson, Director of the Center for Human Relations and Community Studies at New York University, has handled the issue with considerable perception spiced with a bit of caustic humor.[1] He states of the neighborhood school:

> . . . . It has now become threatened as a respectable hiding place. From New Rochelle, New York, to Chicago, education leadership is being challenged to re-examine this concept in the light of modern demands. All of a sudden this idea of attending school within the neighborhood becomes sacred. I might add it tends to become sacred about in proportion as the turf of the whites is neared by the Negroes.

Defying Conant's concepts of giving them a good education where they are, Dodson insists that youth cannot be brought into meaningful encounters with each other with each neighborhood school "becoming a 'turf' whose primary purpose is to shut out life."

My own position is based upon the evidence presented in the previous sections and the view that the structure of contemporary society requires a redefinition of the idea of neighborhood. The impact of segregation, whether de facto or de jure, upon the personalities of white and Negro children is impressively demonstrated. There is no doubt that present institutional practices may require change if we are to meet the mandate of our own value system and the law.

To the extent that school districts can be reorganized towards a more desirable racial balance, they will be able to serve the needs of pupils and society more effectively and efficiently. If this can be done well through redistricting, pairing schools, closing schools, and building new schools at more advantageous locations, transportation need not be invoked. But when transportation is required because of the unique features of a district, it must take primary consideration over continuing segregation.

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[1] Dan Dodson, "De Facto Segregation and Education," Paper mimeographed in "Integrating Syracuse Public Schools."

Many believe that the personal convenience of the individuals concerned should be secondary to the greater good of all. There is nothing new about this concept, since attendance at school, per se is not optional upon the convenience of individuals, considering the welfare of all in a democracy. Moreover, the guidelines of emerging case law would seem to support transportation based upon reasonable grounds to implement the law.[1]

Transportation to central schools in suburban and rural areas may be viewed as an extension of the original "community school" concept. Children are taken by bus to the place where all a particular community's children go to school together.[2] In the same sense, it is not too remote to conceive that in the forthcoming years metropolitan area schools may be the rule.

Considering the cost of transportation (reimbursible by the State on the basis of certain distances established by law), one might inject the thought that the expense entailed should always be weighed against the cost in human terms of a segregated educational experience.

Finally, as one recognizes the changing nature of human society as an outgrowth of the media of communication and transportation, one is immediately aware that we are becoming more and more one world. That we must indeed learn to live together if we are to survive is cause to question a narrow concept of "neighborhood." Would it not be well to redefine neighbor-hood in human, rather than geographic terms?

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Controversy can be constructive and out of its ferment the first constructive steps toward desegregation are being taken. Successful change will tax the leadership skills of schoolmen as no other task has ever done. In the broad authority granted by the law, sensitivity to many aspects of the problem will be required.

One will need to consider the sincere anxieties of both white and Negro parents for their children's well-being as they find themselves required to respond to the demands of

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[1]See for example Vetere V. Mitchell, 21 A D 2d 561, at p. 565 (1964).

[2]Dodson, op. cit.

integration. Plans will need to stand the test of reasonableness and to represent the best among alternatives, weighing many factors.

As we contemplate action, we will need to remember the frustration of many Negro parents as they await equal opportunity for their children. As Dr. Martin Luther King reminds us:

> For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This "wait" has almost always meant, "Never."[1]

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[1]Martin Luther King, Jr., Letter from Birmingham City Jail, April 16, 1963 (Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, May 1963), p. 5.

CHAPTER III

MOBILIZING FOR CHANGE: SOME THOUGHTS ON THE PROCESS

Spearheaded by Commissioner Allen's instruction to boards of education, desegregation of the schools of New York State has become official policy. Implementing the mandate at the local level is a crucial first step in a two-phase process, the second being integration in the fullest social, psychological and educational sense.

Social organizations tend to maintain stability, continuing to do what they propose to do in habitual ways. Several reference groups and the forces they exert may be viewed as influential in facilitating change as institutionalized forms become inappropriate: those external to the school, those internal to it, and those which may perhaps be conceived as straddling arbitrary classification.[1]

Those external to the school include such agents as the general public, legal bodies, and political structures; those internal to it comprise the professional staff, the pupils and parents. The board of education may be perceived as occupying an intermediary position.

Though the chief school administrator is rarely a policy maker in determining organizational changes of the magnitude of desegregation, he is surely the "man in the middle."[2] It is a challenge to his leadership to bring these many publics and the influences they exert into a harmonious interrelationship so that the aspects of his organization may be rearranged effectively to accomplish the objective.

Change and Power

It appears self-evident that the issue of racial imbalance

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[1]The ideas for this section are based on the personal observations of the writer. See also Henry M. Brickell, Organizing New York State for Educational Change, (Albany: The New York State Education Department, 1961) for a discussion of the dynamics of instructional change. The reference is a useful one though the present writer differs on some points with this authority; "Preparing for Desegregation," Journal of Educational Sociology XXXVI (February 1963), 272 ff. An excerpt of a statement before the U.S. Civil Rights Commission on Education, Washington, D.C. May 3, 1962 was particularly helpful.

[2]This concept, based on the work of Egon Guba, has been aptly summarized by Raold F. Campbell, et al, Introduction of Educational Administration (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1962), p. 203.

in our schools would not have developed in northern communities without confrontation. Court decisions, pressure by interested groups,[1] and the administrative pressure of the Allen decision upon local boards of education exemplify this.

The principle is undoubtedly no less valid in the implementation of active desegregation of schools than it has been of setting the stage. The various agents of confrontation in the community may well be viewed by the profession as the allies of change.

Related to this idea is the role of the groups and persons of the community who constitute its power structure. If power was essential to initiating public policy on desegregation, then power, rather than educational merit per se, will be vital to its actual accomplishment within school districts. It is well known that community policy and action are most frequently decided by power figures whose ranks do not necessarily include public officials or educational leaders.[2] Indeed boards of education often do not determine educational policy in the first instance. Continued consultation with school and community groups is nonetheless desirable in policy formulation and reappraisal.

The professional educator, particularly the superintendent of schools in an urban area plays a central role in actualizing policy and influencing its direction. Implicit in this statement is the idea that his critical task is to interpret to power groups and confrontation forces what a truly adequate desegregated and integrated experience should be.

The extent to which he is in touch with these groups may well govern the success of his effort.[3] Moreover, the professional must be perfectly clear intellectually as well as emotionally about the merit of desegregation, the best means to implement it and the ways of enhancing its value to children through programming. To a large extent these factors are governed by the manner in which the educator responsible for leadership perceives his own role.[4]

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[1] The activities of National Association of Colored People, Core, and similar groups, have been extremely influential in confrontation at national, state and local levels.

[2] See for example Ralph B. Kimbrough, Political Power and Educational Decision Making (New York: Rand-McNally, 1964).

[3] Ibid.

[4] "Preparing for Desegregation," Journal of Educational Sociology XXXVI (February 1963), p. 274.

Authority and Change

The strongest authority for action is that which derives from the group.[1] Dodson has stated aptly that "because the initial stages of desegregation involve power groups which do not include the professional staff, it is highly important that there be a clear, concise statement of policy on desegregation and that it be rooted firmly in the authority of the community. . . . There is a need to feel that political leadership is not being pushed by organized pressure groups, rather than operating on their own initiative.[2]

If it is true that the school staff profit from authority rooted in a community, then authority broadly developed and shared by groups internal to the school should enhance the effectiveness of power from the community.

The superintendent may function more effectively if he is able to enlist the willing authority of the board of education to whom he is responsible, the school community he serves and the staff he administers and supervises. If the task and his role are perceived differently by these groups, he will be less able to fulfill the mandates of law and equity. Similarly, if his staff are able to experience the consensus of community, school board and the chief administrator, they will function more effectively and efficiently in support of the objectives.[3]

Moving from the clearly defined mandate of the State Commissioner of, Education and the courts, both the superintendent and boards of education, as agents of the state, may serve the authority of that broader community. But where boards of education do not perceive themselves as functioning as agents of the state, a part of the task of the superintendent may be to assist them towards defining this aspect of their role.

Since the authority of a board, though not necessarily determining of innovation, has a decisive influence when

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[1]The theories of individual psychology particularly the work of Carl Rogers and his students call attention to the efficacy and power of group-centered leadership.

[2]"Preparing for Desegregation," p. 272.

[3]Personal observations of the writer are supported by the work of Jacob W. Getzels, "Administration as a Social Process," Administrative Theory in Education, (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago, 1958) pp. 150-165.

exerted, it is incumbent upon the administrator to open channels for this exercise. An informed board who have had the opportunity for frequent and free discussion of their views are in a better position to offer harmonious leadership than a board who have not benefited from such exchange. This places them in a position to develop and back up in action a local statement of policy which has concrete and sincere meaning for the individual district.

The authority of the school community, the broader public, and school personnel must also be enlisted. Proceeding with mandates which are unequivocal, the school administrator and the board will need to afford these groups with an opportunity to become informed and to discuss the issues entailed.

The study of educational change in New York State raised the question of whether there is public reluctance to support better programs which could inhibit staffs eager for change. The answer was:

> Not according to the information gathered in this study, which clearly indicated that community expectations and professional ambitions are usually in reasonable harmony with each other. Communities which expect little of schools and are unwilling or unable to pay for quality programs tend to attract and to retain administrators who are willing to work in that environment.[1]

The implication is that if the public sees the program to be introduced as a better program, their cooperation may be anticipated. Every occasion and channel of communication possible must be utilized to this end.

There is an additional consideration which is vital for successful innovation. It must be recognized that those whose psychological needs are met through the assumption of a feeling of superiority in relation to others will be reluctant to relinquish a satisfying role, whether or not they understand the psychological rationale.

It has been shown in psychological and sociological research that the antidote for prejudice and discrimination lies in two principle directions:

> The first is in laws regulating practices of discrimination, and in the administrative measures which are taken

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[1]Brickell, op. cit., p. 21.

by public authorities to insure equal treatment. The second is education. This includes the education of teachers and parents, and the counselling which is needed along with more formal methods of instruction.[1]

If it is generally accepted that community cooperation is essential to disseminating new programs, then it is advantageous to enlist participation through a design which will allow exploration of the issues, alternatives for solution and even the emotional basis of prejudice in the present instance.[2] Public hearings may be a partial answer. All too frequently, however, these allow only for exposition of the issues, and some degree of catharsis for individual participants. Moreover, they often occur after the fact.

A more realistic attack, and one which gets at the heart of the issue would perhaps be a small group approach with competent leadership at the neighborhood level. Parents of affected schools should be the focal point and their participation in actual planning should be enlisted. In addition to developing its own program, a school system would cooperate advantageously with community groups providing such opportunities. The role of the clergy cannot be underestimated in this endeavor since to some the moral mandates for change may be more effective than other considerations and pressures.

Finally, to the degree that school staffs are able to perceive positive value in change, success in innovation will be ensured. Because a teacher must be a model of society, and at the same time provide a sound educational experience, he requires a strong basis of support: 1) that of the general policy of the school system; 2) that of knowledge as well as personal incorporation of the validity of what he is doing; 3) the opportunity to avail himself of both of these through inservice experiences; 4) the feeling that he is competent in his task; and 5) the chance to air his own anxieties.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to explore the specific methods of involving people in change; however, one final

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[1] H. Harry Giles, The Integrated Classroom (New York: Basic Books, 1959), p. 187. See also Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, Social Change and Prejudice (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964).

[2] Brickell, op. cit., p. 20. This author observes that while citizens do not exert a direct influence, their influence is decisive when exerted. Moreover, while it is not important to arouse their active enthusiasm, it is "necessary to avoid their active opposition."

thought is offered. In the transitional role of the administrator, would it be appropriate to exercise genuine leadership in bringing together representatives of the reference groups, upon whom innovation depends to participate in decision making and serve as a nucleus for smaller group exchange?

Many groups form in a typical community and undertake to implement action. Desegregation in Syracuse, for example, has inspired the development of several organizations whose purpose is to assist in this objective.[1] While membership may include some of the potent forces of the city, this may be accidental and efforts may be fragmented. Moreover, the leadership potential of the school administration, the school staff, parents, students and the board of education is often not utilized or thinly divided.

This is a problem too vital to be left in the hands of adventitious groups completely external to the school. It is one which merits the definitive attention and initiation of schoolmen themselves, bringing all their professional knowledge and personal resources to bear.

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[1] Certain church-sponsored groups, the Education Committee of the Syracuse Area Council of the State Commission for Human Rights, the Mayor's Commission for Youth (now Crusade for Opportunity), The Mayor's Commission for Human Rights, are exemplar.

CHAPTER IV

MOBILIZING FOR CHANGE: PLANNING FOR CHILDREN

The essential problem of integration is how to provide meaningful experiences for all children of differing cultural, ethnic, racial and economic backgrounds, so that they may grow together towards maximum self-realization, in dignity and mutual respect, and thereby render their best contribution to society. Basic to this problem is an understanding of the child himself in his environmental setting.

This chapter presents an overview of the characteristics of culturally deprived children. Recognizing that these children are a heterogeneous group, and that much of the research does not differentiate American Negros from other disadvantaged Americans, the more general treatment is followed by a resume of the social-psychological situation typical of many Negro children. Extending this picture is information about a specific school population drawn from a previous study of a predominantly Negro elementary school in Syracuse.[1]

A Profile of the Culturally Deprived[2]

Robert Weaver has characterized the mainstream of the deprived subculture in the following terms:

> Slums in American cities today house families which hold a wide range of values and evidence a variety of behavior patterns. Some are households with female heads and are stable nonetheless; others may be ungrammatical but adhere to high moral standards; still others evidence all the attributes of middle class behavior and are dedicated to its values, if not recipients of its rewards. All

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[1]In conjunction with an assignment as a member of the Education Task Force of the Mayor's Commission for Youth, the writer visited five elementary schools in the inner city of Syracuse in the 1963-64 School Year. The populations of three are gradually shifting towards racial imbalance (using Commissioner Allen's guideline of 50%). One, the Washington Irving School, was selected for reporting because it had not been directly involved in the work of the Madison Area Project, a local experiment in special education for the disadvantaged. It therefore typified a school with minimal compensatory services comparable to others in upstate New York. The Washington Irving School was closed in the 1965-66 School Year, in line with the integration plan of the Syracuse School District.

[2]Much of the material included in this section is derived from F. Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child (New York: Harper and Row, 1962).

three groups have ambition and talent, but fight an uphill battle in maintaining respectability and achievement for themselves and their children. . . .[1]

It is our purpose in this section to sketch from this diversity a rough psychological portrait of the culturally deprived child and his world from empirical data and from research. The understandings derived should in turn point up some implications for our specific educational task.

Interest in Education

In an unpublished study Riessman asked members of underprivileged groups, "What do you miss most in life that you would like your children to have?" Over 50 per cent of the white lower socio-economic group and 70 per cent of the Negro group said, "Education." This is not an isolated finding, for it receives support from the studies of other workers. Though it is important in itself, its major significance is in the perception of education held by this minority.

It is suggested by workers close to the problem that unlike the middle-class individual, the deprived person sees education pragmatically and anti-intellectually. There is no interest in knowledge for its own sake. Education is seen as a means to employment in a specific job, a way to cope with the "red tape" of society, a way to master and control the world.

His interests center, as may be predicted, around math, learning to read, writing and the sciences. He is least interested in social studies, literature and the arts as traditionally presented. To the extent that the school stresses education for its own sake as a means towards self-expression in the abstract, it is operating in a frame of reference which the disadvantaged do not share.

The tendency to relegate the learning difficulties of the culturally deprived to a lack of interest in education would appear not to be born out when one goes beyond the superficial. We have already explored rather fully the impact of segregated school experiences. It suffices to note at this point that discriminating practices exist in many subtle forms. Our intelligence tests penalize those from lower

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[1] "Human Values of Urban Life," Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, May 1960, pp. 33-34, cited in Riessman, ibid., p. 4.

socio-economic levels; guidance counsellors often steer young people from this echelon into more "realistic" vocations. Textbooks are used which contain material far out of step with the interests of these young people. Indeed, one cannot underestimate the impact of these forces upon motivation towards education.

Pragmatism, Anti-Intellectualism, and "Physical" Style

For the culturally deprived, pragmatism extends beyond his perception of education. Abstraction, intellectualism, the realm of the "egg-head", are inconsistent with his cognitive style. He appears to learn in a physical or motoric fashion. He typically does better on performance tests. He is more apt to solve problems when he can manipulate objects physically. He admires strength and endurance. His interest and success in sports reflects this attitude. He values masculinity. He understands physical forms of discipline and of social exchange (horse play).

Other manifestations of this "physical" style of the deprived may be cited.

1) They like to draw,
2) They enjoy role playing,
3) They often count on their fingers, move their lips in reading,
4) They appear to think in spatial terms rather than temporal terms and often have poor time perspective. Teachers have often observed that these children have a short attention span, but with motor involvement they may work tenaciously for long periods of time.

Concreteness

Deprived children apparently need to have abstractions pinned down to the immediate, the sensory, the topical. This is not to say that they are incapable of, or dislike, abstract thinking. They merely do it differently. They approach the abstract from the concrete and the teacher must do the same.

School Know-How

It has been pointed out by those who work closely with the disadvantaged that they fail to fulfill expectations related

to procedures in the school which we take for granted in middle-class youngsters. These skills include how to ask questions, how to answer questions, how to take tests, how to relate to a teacher.

Verbal Ability

Eels and Havighurst have shown that deprived children use a great many words with some precision, but these are not the words used in school.[1] Success in school is based on facility with a middle-class vocabulary. Basil Bernstein, a British sociologist, suggests that deprived groups are at home in "public language" but are deficient in "formal language."[2] Public language comprises short, simple, often incomplete sentences, frequent use of commands and questions.

The work of Martin Deutsch, described in a report from the Institute of Developmental Studies, is of interest.[3] Investigations on the Language patterns of deprived children have been undertaken and suggest that the "verbal impoverishment" of the culturally deprived is related to the task to be accomplished. It is most striking with highly structured tasks, but verbal enrichment techniques which allow free flow of language bring forth rich associations.

Using a novel technique, a toy clown whose nose lights up when the subject speaks, Deutsch and his staff have been able to elicit a child's "spontaneous language." Other findings reported are as follows:

1) Deprived children appear to be poor in use of verbs, better with descriptive adjectives,
2) They have better receptive linguistic ability than "expressive language,"
3) They show good ability for fantasy,
4) They express themselves best in unstructured situations.

Observers of the performance of deprived children have

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[1]Kenneth Eels et al. Intelligence and Cultural Differences, (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1951) p. 53.

[2]Basil Bernstein, "A Public Language," British Journal of Sociology, December 1959, pp. 311-323, cited in Riessman, op. cit. p. 75.

[3]Mimeographed materials from the Institute for Developmental Studies, Department of Psychiatry, New York Medical College.

noted that they function well in discussion after role playing sessions and when they talk about action which they have observed. They usually do not verbalize well in response to words alone when they are used as stimuli.

Irving Taylor has observed that deprived individuals are not as restricted to verbal means of communication, but tend to allow language to interact more with non-verbal means, such as gestures and pictures.[1] This lends support to the observation of teachers who work with the disadvantaged they they express themselves well through art media. Taylor finds on word association tests that deprived children are less conventional, more unusual, original and independent, more flexible and visual with language.

Since underprivileged children do not realize their potential because of formal language difficulties, this is a crucial area of teaching and learning. Riessman has termed it the "Achilles Heel" of the deprived.

Listening

The culturally deprived child is a notoriously poor listener according to observers who have worked close to him. A sixth grade teacher of the writer's acquaintance, raised this as a major problem and hypothesized that it is related to "becoming accustomed to noise." Others have hypothesized that the disadvantaged child is simply not used to listening to adults give "talks," for parents and children rarely converse except to exchange particular information and when parents give commands.[2] Thus children are not prepared to listen to a teacher talk for thirty or forty minutes and are frequently bewildered.

Some Characteristics of the Social World of Culturally Deprived Negroes[3]

Based upon studies of Negro youth, Thompson has isolated

[1] Personal Communication cited in Riessman, op. cit., p. 78.

[2] A. Davis, et al., Deep South (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), pp. 102, 129.

[3] Drawn from the work of Dan C. Thompson as reported in Integrating the Urban School, ed. by Gordon J. Klopf and Israel A. Laster (New York: Bureau of Publications Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), 3-6. Other sources are H. Harry Giles, The Integrated Classroom (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959); Thomas F. Pettigrew, A Profile of the Negro American (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1964).

the following characteristics of Negro homes of the lower socio-economic level, "from which come the great majority of dropouts, delinquents and unemployed youth:"

1) In about half the homes, one or both parents have a history of alcoholism, criminality, poverty and instability.

2) Most of the homes are culturally impoverished. Most parents or guardians do not have a high school education. There is seldom any reading material except for the children's elementary school books. Though most homes have no interest in music, "except that which may be classified as 'low brow,'" in most homes there is a TV, radio and sometimes a record player.

3) Houses and neighborhoods are "ugly." Few homes have a spare room where children may study quietly.

4) About a fourth of the children are born out of wedlock. Some parents are quick to admit their children were unwanted.

5) Family pride is not in evidence.

6) Fathers are lacking in half the homes and where they are present mothers appear dominant.

7) Parents do not plan definitely for their children's future. They have no educational insurance policies.

8) Most often children are "depreciated and derogated."

9) Children are not taught to aspire to more than day-to-day success. They name "low-aspiration" occupations when pressed.

10) The "problem children" do not conceive success in traditional American thought. None identified with legendary heros. Parents had not told the children bedtime stories which involve "acceptable" heroes and heroines.

11) Families were characterized by traumatic stresses, and divided by illness, imprisonment, poverty, and/or separation.

12) "Several studies underscored the fact that children are not often very different from their parents."

Four "distinct social worlds" have been isolated among lower class Negroes:

1) The matriarchy - The female role is emphasized. The male role symbolizes dishonor, distrust, disrespect.

2) The gang - Maleness is aggressiveness, physical prowess, and the need to "prove yourself a man." Boys from matriarchal homes learn to disrespect women and reject "femaleness." From the beginning, Negro boys and girls are set against one another. Girls from matriarchal homes distrust men. Boys demonstrate their rejection of women. Thus, both become "natural enemies."

3) Marginality - Children shift from family to family and place to place. Therefore they have little opportunity to develop self identity.

4) The nuclear family - Family members band tightly together "as if for protection against the outside world." Children tend to be suspicious of those who try to help them. But there is considerable family pride, stability, and clear self-identity.

It is particularly significant that while 70 to 80 per cent of Negroes in large northern cities are lower class, 70 to 80 per cent of white urban population may be classified as middle or upper class. This means that the slant of the schools towards the middle class is widely discrepant in relation to the predominant social situation of the Negro American.

The great emphasis upon such values as self-respect, achievement of status and recognition, higher education, occupational success, stable family life, and sacrifice of immediate satisfaction for long-range goals is totally unrealistic for most Negro Americans in terms of their predominant cultural orientation.

> Any program of compensatory education must take into account the fact that lower class Negro children suffer from different kinds of deprivations. Some need to develop wholesome attitudes regarding sex, statuses and roles, some need to achieve stable self identities, and others need to be taught that the world can be friendly, not just hostile. Most need to be made to feel that they are accepted as worthy participants in the middle-class-oriented school to which they may be assigned.[1]

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[1] Thompson, op. cit., p. 6.

The Washington Irving School: The Children and Their Environment

General Characteristics of the Pupils[1]

About 90 per cent of the children attending the Washington Irving school are Negro. Many are from homes which by middle class standards would be considered underprivileged. Some live in old, poorly maintained, deteriorating houses, others live in a federally financed housing project of 1930 vintage. The occupations of the families represent the lowest socio-economic levels. Husbands draw their income largely from lower status jobs; mothers work as domestics, laundresses, waitresses, etc. Many families are on relief.

The majority of pupils are from broken or unstable homes. Of all sixth grade pupils, forty-eight per cent come from homes where patterns of divorce, death, separation, or absence of the father are characteristic, or where they are a member of a family whose name and sibship they do not share.

Thirty-six per cent of the sixth grade group may be considered "transient" in that they have attended more than two schools during the elementary years. However, forty per cent of the population have always attended Washington Irving, representing a sizable body of non-transient children. It is of interest to note that less than fifteen per cent of the Irving pupils have spent any time at all in southern schools. Formal schooling has thus taken place for the most part in the North. Moreover, the mean I.Q. and achievement for sixth graders with some southern schooling is equal or above the total group.

The prevalence of truancy among pupils is discernible in the following figures. Six per cent of the sixth grade pupils had missed more than thirty days of school in more than two grades (1 to 5) and an additional three per cent had missed thirty or more days during one year. Fifteen per cent had missed thirty or more days in kindergarten and nearly half this number had later repeated at least one grade. Only twenty per cent of all repeaters had missed thirty days during any one of their school years.

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[1] Survey of the Croton and Washington Irving Elementary Schools. Report by A Study Staff of the School of Education in Cooperation with the Bureau of School Service, Syracuse University: June, 1963. Supplemented by information based on a visit by the writer in Fall 1963.

The figures showing grade repetition indicate that about half in the sixth grade have had failure experience in their elementary schooling, having repeated one or more years.

Pupils' Intellectual and Academic Characteristics in Relation to the Norm

It has been generally accepted that the traditional methods of evaluating intelligence which are generally employed in the public school setting are invalid for measuring the potential of culturally disadvantaged children.[1] Scores from conventional tests nonetheless may provide a basis for comparison of these children with children of the same age from different cultures. They may then be used for diagnostic and developmental planning towards the improvement of those abilities upon which the tests are based and school progress depends. They also provide a realistic basis for evaluation of the applicability of existing curricula, methods and materials in relation to the actual needs of children.

Statistics available for the Washington Irving School relevant to the intellectual characteristics of its pupils may be summarized as follows:

1) The mean I.Q. derived from scores on the California Test of mental maturity for sixth graders at Irving is 88 as compared with a mean for the total population of 100. The range of response however, is from retarded to gifted.

2) A comparison of tests administered in grade three and grade six shows a trend towards slight decline in score. Since these scores are dependent on behavioral traits such as vocabulary and language skills, rather than "innate intelligence," it may be hypothesized that in the absence of special training socio-psychological or environmental factors are increasingly important in broadening the gap. It seems, moreover, that Irving starts with a homogeneous population which tends to grow more diverse.[2]

3) Achievement scores on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills given fifty-eight sixth graders at Washington Irving show that they are from eight months to one year below the na-

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[1]Kenneth Eells, et al., Intelligence and Cultural Differences (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951).

[2]Washington Irving School is only tangentially affected by the Madison Area Project.

tional norm of 6.2. A wide range of scores surrounds this mean. The two decisive sub-tests in this battery for this group were the vocabulary and the work skills tests. Reading and arithmetic scores were higher. Statistical significance of the difference is unknown. The mean score for the subdivisions are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

ACHIEVEMENT SCORES ON THE IOWA TEST OF BASIC SKILLS GIVEN 58 SIXTH GRADERS AT THE WASHINGTON IRVING SCHOOL

Group	Vocabulary	Reading	Arithmetic	Work Skills
Sixth Graders	5.2	5.4	5.4	5.4

4) The correlation was computed between the Iowa composite reading scores and the Scott-Foresman Reading tests that are used in conjunction with the reading tests (.67). Teachers report that the latter (Scott-Foresman scores) have much influence on the decision to promote or retain pupils.

Three major generalizations of these data may be stated as follows:

1) The pupils of Washington Irving are below the national average in I.Q. and achievement scores, though a wide range of performance is found.

2) Limited vocabulary and poorly developed work skills are major variables in the lower achievement and probably in the lower intelligence quotients.

3) Slight regression on intelligence scores noted between grades three and six may be attributable to factors within the environment of the child.

Language Development

An experience in the observation of a second grade class at the Washington Irving School forcefully illustrated the level and quality of verbal expression characteristic of these children in comparison with the cultural norm. A survey of the schools in the so-called "gray area" of the city, a geographical segment in which cultural deprivation fans out from a central core, revealed that teaching personnel attribute limited academic progress to inadequate

functioning in verbal communication, especially in reading. It seems appropriate therefore to explore the parameters of this observation.

Kindergarten children of the Washington Irving School have been reexamined using the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test.[1] They were compared with kindergarten pupils from the Edward Smith Elementary School, representing a middle class population. The results are shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF CORRECT RESPONSES GIVEN BY KINDERGARTEN PUPILS IN WASHINGTON IRVING AND EDWARD SMITH SCHOOLS[2]

School	Number of Correct Responses on the Peabody Vocabulary			
	Range		Mean	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Irving	29-70	20-57	45	45
Smith	53-74	47-83	60	61

These findings demonstrate the degree of deficiency among culturally deprived children for listening vocabulary. Since listening vocabulary is generally larger than speaking, reading or writing vocabulary, it may be assumed that deficiency is even more marked in the latter areas. This has been demonstrated in the previous section.

The results are of particular interest if we review the actual words missed. Table 3 shows that a percentage of the children in two types of schools (including a second disadvantaged school, Croton,) missed each of the first fifty-five words of the Peabody Test Form A.

[1] A standardized test in which the subject is presented with sets of four pictures, one of which is to be identified by pointing according to a spoken word. For example, a picture showing a stove, a clown, a boat, and a flag, the child is asked, "Show me the clown."

[2] Adapted from Survey of Croton and Washington Irving Elementary Schools, Table V, p. 29.

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN MISSING THE FIRST 55 WORDS OF THE PEABODY TEST[1]

Word from Peabody Test Form A	Children in Disadvantaged Area		Children in Middle-class Area	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	%	%	%	%
1. car	1.9	1.8	---	---
2. cow	1.9	---	---	---
3. baby	---	1.8	---	---
4. girl	---	---	---	---
5. ball	1.9	1.8	---	---
6. block	3.8	---	---	---
7. clown	1.9	---	---	---
8. key	---	---	---	---
9. can	1.9	5.5	---	---
10. chicken	---	1.8	---	---
11. blowing	7.6	12.7	---	7.1
12. fan	9.4	7.3	4.4	---
13. digging	5.7	14.6	---	3.6
14. skirt	1.9	3.6	---	---
15. catching	7.6	7.3	4.4	3.6
16. drum	---	---	---	---
17. leaf	3.8	3.6	---	---
18. tying	45.3	47.2	30.4	32.2
19. fence	5.7	12.7	---	---
20. bat	3.8	7.3	---	---
21. bee	3.8	3.6	---	---
22. bush	7.6	14.6	---	---
23. pouring	20.8	14.6	8.7	3.6
24. sewing	9.4	7.3	---	---
25. wiener	64.2	47.3	56.5	57.1
26. teacher	5.7	---	---	---
27. building	18.9	20.0	---	7.1
28. arrow	1.9	18.1	---	---
29. kangaroo	5.7	9.1	---	---
30. accident	9.4	14.6	---	---
31. nest	15.1	16.4	---	---
32. caboose	34.0	41.8	---	---
33. envelope	13.2	12.7	---	---
34. picking	41.5	30.9	17.4	3.6
35. badge	15.1	29.1	---	3.6
36. goggles	35.9	40.0	21.7	14.2
37. peacock	39.6	36.4	4.4	---
38. queen	1.9	3.6	---	---
39. coach	38.6	41.8	4.4	10.7
40. whip	9.4	14.6	---	---

[1]Taken from Survey of Croton and Washington Irving Schools, p. 31.

TABLE 3 -- continued

Word from Peabody Test Form A	Children in Disadvantaged Area		Children in Middle-class Area	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	%	%	%	%
41. net	11.3	7.3	---	---
42. freckle	54.7	47.3	---	---
43. eagle	11.3	9.1	---	---
44. twist	22.6	16.4	---	3.6
45. shining	22.6	12.7	---	3.6
46. dial	41.5	36.4	---	---
47. yawning	45.3	29.1	4.4	---
48. tumble	30.2	27.3	4.4	3.6
49. signal	41.5	56.4	---	7.1
50. capsule	24.5	21.8	17.4	10.7
51. submarine	26.4	23.6	---	7.1
52. thermos	45.3	32.7	13.0	39.3
53. projector	11.3	21.8	4.4	3.6
54. group	56.5	50.9	17.4	17.9
55. tackling	28.3	45.5	---	17.9

The implication of these findings is that children from culturally deprived schools are unable to associate the spoken word with a picture of the word. It is generally assumed that these words are a part of the experience of most children, and instruction usually proceeds under this premise; this assumption is untenable for the child who is disadvantaged. It becomes evident that teaching is beginning at a level much above the experiential foundation of word comprehension for these youngsters.

A second aspect of deviation from the cultural norm revolves around the speech patterns characteristic of Negro children of this school. Dialetical speech "errors" characterize many, if not the majority of children. Standard American usage and pronunciation is violated by such expressions as, "I goes to de store wif my brother." These patterns are habitual, reinforced at home and by peer groups and this entrenchment contributes to the difficulty of the problem.

Appendix I contains an overview of the program of the Washington Irving School. It provides an understanding of the manner in which the educational needs of these pupils are currently being met in Syracuse, in a system providing

an experience which compares favorably with most upstate cities.[1] The data on this group of children bear out the profile derived from the literature and refine our understanding. Based upon these observations, certain guidelines for teaching are suggested. These are summarized below:

Implications for Teaching

1) The worthwhileness of education in terms of being able to manipulate and understand the world, accomplish one's purposes, obtain various kinds of jobs, should be emphasized at the developmental level of the child.

2) Textbooks must be developed to coincide more closely with the experiences and problems of the lower socio-economic group, and to appeal to "slow readers" at the level of interest and physical development.

3) Action is important. Ways of using the physical, manipulative approach of the deprived child to facilitate learning must be sought. Role playing and acting out a situation (as in teaching arithmetic by playing "store") have countless possibilities. Teaching machines and mechanical devices such as record players, tape recorders, etc. are useful. In teaching about a word, ile. "cat," it would be useful to have child "act out" a cat, draw it, write the word on the board, or handle a picture of a cat. Make learning activities into games which are sharply defined, structured, and with clear cut goals. These are things the culturally deprived can "do."

4) Combat anti-intellectualism by showing the child that ideas and theories have practical uses. Highlighting intellectual heroes may be a helpful approach in teaching.

5) Masculinize the school and teaching situations for the underprivileged boy. Literature, books, stories, poems should reflect action, adventure, physical vigor.

6) Proceed from the concrete to the abstract. Do not announce a "literature lesson," rather state that you will tell a story about "two children who . . . ."

Present many examples to the child to help him see the point.

7) Teach school "know-how" explicitly.

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[1] Alan K. Campbell (Chairman), "The Negro in Syracuse" (Syracuse: University College, 1964), p. 19. This report compares Syracuse favorably with other cities in this area.

8) The method of teaching formal language to the deprived child should take advantage of his colorful, free communication style by employing teaching techniques that stress the visual, the physical and the active as much as possible. Use his non-linguistic skills, integrating them with verbal language.

The teacher may enlist the child's physical style to develop verbal expression through role playing visual aids, field trips and the like. He expresses himself best around things he can see and do. From this baseline he may move to higher levels of verbalization, but periodic reinforcement by visual stimuli may be necessary even after the first levels of verbalization have been reached.

9) The teacher will have to teach these children how to listen. An auditory set must be developed in the classroom.

10) Use the concrete interests of these children in science, automobiles, sports and like areas as a take-off point for developing educational understanding.

CHAPTER V

SOME GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR ACTION

If the schools are to fulfill their commitment to affording an integrated and therefore equal educational opportunity to all of the children they must envision initiating and implementing changes on a broad and systemwide basis. The essence of this point of view has been expressed by the Educational Policies Commission as follows:

> The successful school program attacks the problem of the culturally handicapped on three fronts simultaneously. It demonstrates to pupils a close relationship between school and life; it includes the remedial services necessary for academic progress; and it arouses aspirations which can alter constructively the courses of young lives.
>
> Often the school must strive to overcome children's hostility to the school environment, helping them to develop a sense that education is related to their lives and purposes. It can then go about its main business of developing these potentials on which independent and constructive lives are based.[1]

The following represent some guidelines for action which further differentiate these parameters.

Boards of Education

1) In their position of leadership in the field of education, school boards must act to provide the community and members of the school staff with the authority of a declaration of policy which will serve as a basis for action.[2]

2) The school board must participate with the superintendent in developing a plan for desegregation which will represent the most reasonable course of action relative to the local situation.

3) The school board must take cognizance of the implications of delay in relation to the educational needs of children. An elementary school child has but seven short years; his initial experiences, especially those of the first three or four, are crucial to those which follow.

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[1] Educational Policies Commission. Education and the Disadvantaged American, (Washington, D.C. National Educational Association, 1962) pp. 15-16.

[2] Policy statement of the Syracuse Board of Education is included in Appendix IV.

4) Old patterns of education, including the concept of the neighborhood school, must be carefully re-evaluated against the cost of continuing segregated educational experience.

5) The board of education must be prepared to implement its statement in actions which ensure integration, including the enlistment of means of financial support. This responsibility is particularly vital since it has been estimated that the increased cost of educating deprived children properly will require special aid from the State.[1]

6) Boards must support the superintendent in interpreting good education for all children to the community and particularly its power structure, through informal as well as formal contacts with power figures.

7) School boards must demonstrate their unequivocal position to the community as they enlist their support, so that their perceived authority may enhance and complement that of other groups.

Community Relations

1) School boards and staff must seek community participation in achieving objectives. This implies that the community ideally should have some role in formulation of these objectives, except to the exclusion of individual rights.

2) Schoolmen must plan to cooperate with and advise existing agencies purposing to facilitate integration as to the nature and needs of good programs.

3) Schoolmen should assume leadership in developing community-wide educational programs to facilitate change. They must involve representatives of the various publics, including power structure, and use all avenues of communication.

School Personnel

1) The school and administrative staff must demonstrate their support of teaching personnel by the provisions of in-service training, by the inclusion of funds for maintaining such training and by provision of the time entailed in study.

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[1]Conference of Large City Boards of Education, An Analysis of Educational and Financial Costs of Large Cities in New York State with Recommendations for Revision of the State Aid Formulas (Buffalo, September 1964), p. 11.

2) Teachers need support and encouragement towards development of a self-concept as adequate professionally to the task. Coordinating teachers may be of assistance.

3) Teachers are required who respect and relate positively to these children, who are flexible enough to adapt curriculum and method to their needs, and who enjoy attacking and ordering the intellectually unknown.

4) Personnel must be adequate to minimize pupil-teacher ratio and to afford a realistic number of auxiliary specialists per pupil.

5) Teachers should represent the racial balance of the community, and administrative and supervisory appointments should draw from their ranks.

6) Integrated schools in depressed areas might rely on:[1]

a. Recruitment practices based on cooperative participation with universities in pre-service training.
   1. Special training programs geared to the task.
   2. Arranging student practicum experience in the school in which teaching would eventually be done, taking cognizance of the uniqueness of individual settings.

b. Recruitment on a voluntary basis only, from the ranks of specially trained persons.

c. Support of internships.

7) The need for special understanding and training will become systemwide as truly integrated educational opportunities become the rule. Therefore all teachers must be involved in such experiences and teacher education must incorporate them as a part of the total program of regular professional study. Negro history and culture, field experience in Negro communities and training in the characteristics and instructional needs of these children must be emphasized.

8) Special professional personnel to man auxiliary services would be required in greater numbers: psychologists; social workers; guidance counsellors; medical personnel;

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[1]Vernon F. Haubrick, "Teachers for Big City Schools," Education in Depressed Areas, ed. by A. Harry Passow (New York: Teachers College, Columbia, 1963), pp. 243 ff. Also Leonard Kornberg, "Teachers for Depressed Areas," ibid., pp. 272 ff.

nurses; dental hygienists; remedial teachers; speech therapists; resource teachers; additional administrative staff; secretarial personnel.

The increased services of these people might be considered temporary in the ideal and long range perspective as the problem of culturally disadvantaged children diminishes through education.

The School Program

1) The school program must recognize the different orientation towards education of the culturally disadvantaged child:

a. Education must be directly related to his concrete needs to get a job and to cope with the world.
b. Concrete experiences and materials, i.e. field trips, tape recorders, movies, opportunities for manipulation and physical involvement in learning, serve as a foundation for proceeding to the abstract.
c. Language development is critical. Programs must be devised which concentrate on these skills at the earliest or remedial level.[1] Listening skills may not be overlooked since they are particularly deficient.
d. Problem centered teaching is most meaningful.

2) The curriculum must be extended downward to the pre-school years in terms of the differences in basic experiences of culturally deprived youngsters and should include parent education.

3) The curriculum must be made flexible at the upper level to incorporate the possibility of opportunity for out-of-school youths who wish to return and to afford work-study experiences to teenagers who would remain if education were more realistic for them.[2]

4) The curriculum must be broadened to encompass the social-psychological needs of the child and family on a continuing basis.

a. Teachers must recognize the social-psychological differences which demand recognition in the classroom experience.

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[1]The Syracuse School district has cooperated with Syracuse University in a summer program directed at remediation.

[2]Taking advantage of School-to-Employment-Program funds and in conjunction with the Mayor's Commission for Youth (Crusade for Opportunity) Syracuse has instituted such programs. Office of Manpower and Training Funds are also used to advantage.

b. The school situation must encourage the development of a positive self-image, and healthy attitudes towards members of the opposite sex.
c. Parent counselling must be continuously available along with educational programs attuned to the curriculum for children and to parent requirements.

5) Textbooks and workbooks which provide opportunities for identification with the characters are a prerequisite. They should be free of cost.

6) Incorporation in the curriculum of Negro history and culture is vital to developing self-identity, respect and mutual understanding.[1]

7) The child must be taken from where he is, in respect of his culture, and his language, to where he is ready to move developmentally. His uniqueness may be used to advantage to move towards introduction of other modes of behavior appropriate to broader social situations.

8) Curricular enrichment must be planned to provide experiences not available to the child elsewhere. Community resources may be especially helpful, including voluntary agents to work with children individually or in groups.

9) Library facilities, including books, magazines and paperbacks of special interest must be provided.

Organization of the Program

1) The school must organize to encompass pre-school and post-school experiences, to include parent participation.

2) The lockstep of grades must be re-evaluated in terms of the differing readiness of disadvantaged children, so that progress may be made through the school as development directs.

3) Children cannot be evaluated in terms of middle-class norms. They must be evaluated in terms of themselves.

4) Systems of reporting progress which are more meaningful to parent and child must be explored. Real rewards may be explored to reinforce learning.

5) Opportunities and places for after hours study must be

[1]It is of interest that a bill A1 1024, AP 1024 by Marcesa would amend section 3204 of the Education Law to include the part of the American Negro in United States history as a required course of study the first 8 years of full-time public day school.

provided if students are to have realistic opportunities to prepare themselves.

6) The advantages of an extended school day and year should be explored.

7) New methods of teaching must be evaluated in terms of the needs of these children. The team teaching approach may hold promise but requires testing by teachers. In integrated classes the problem-solving method should be valuable.

8) Schools must organize to incorporate special curricular activities (recreational, social, parent, etc.) so that they may serve the communities in which they are located.

9) Mobility of families should be handled realistically through more permissive policies. Children might be permitted to complete the year in the present school.

Pupil Personnel Services

1) Multi-disciplinary diagnostic services to survey the early status of pupils and continuing development are required as a basis for curriculum planning.

2) Specialized counselling and guidance services are required to meet the emotional needs of children, and to afford consultative service to teachers and parents.

3) Psychological service teams will be required on a multi-disciplinary basis to bring the skills of the behavioral sciences to the support of teachers in their efforts in the educational setting.

4) Preventive services must be supplemented by remedial teaching as required.

5) Guidance programs at elementary and secondary levels which encourage children into realistic occupations, course of study and college settings in terms of their potential, rather than perceived opportunity are required. Assistance with educational finances is imperative.

6) Physical needs of children must be recognized in medical, nursing and dental hygiene services.

(Many principals and teachers find children are "too hungry to learn." Many are not reasonably clean. These needs might be met in special lunch programs and as part of the regular curricular experience.)

7) Cooperation with community service agencies must be maintained.

The School Plant

1) New sites must be selected in areas which will facilitate integrated educational experience.

2) In the planning of new schools, educational specifications must consider the preceding educational needs, with emphasis on community use of their facilities.

Financing

1) The financing of quality education for all children must be based upon educational realism. This implies that a broader basis of support must be sought in terms of present and future needs.

2) Boards of education and chief school administrators must exercise leadership in procuring funds to undergird program.

3) A re-evaluation of the present balance of local and state aid, and a consideration of federal aid to education in terms more appropriate to the flow of tax resources is imminent.

4) A reappraisal of the adequacy of state aid per se in relation to present pupil costs and needs, particularly in urban areas, is mandatory.

5) The exploration of new tax resources, and the equity of the school's share of existing resources at the local level is in order.

6) The tapping of special funds available for progressing in the areas of meeting the need of culturally deprived children is basic to programming.[1]

* * * * *

The task we have before us is not easy, but all around us is an air of expectancy and the certainty that communities everywhere are indeed

. . . free, restless, growing and full of hope.[2]

[1] As an example, such funds have been available in New York through Bureau of Guidance sponsored program STEP, and ABLE at the federal level through the office of Manpower and Training, through special grants from such agencies as Ford Foundation. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 offers new resources.

[2] President Lyndon B. Johnson in his State of the Union Message, January, 1965.

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APPENDIX I. THE WASHINGTON IRVING SCHOOL[1]

The Washington Irving School, with a capacity of 1000, enrolls approximately 700 pupils from kindergarten through grade six. This overview of its program and resources is intended to serve as one reference point to facilitate accomplishment of the purpose of this paper.

The Program of Instruction

Curriculum

The major aim of the instructional program as perceived by the principal is "the improvement of scholarship and citizenship to the end that each child's achievement will compare favorably with his capacity to learn and his behavior reflects a feeling of responsibility and self-respect."

The curriculum is said to "follow the general pattern of the city." With variations in organizations of the classes, the staff have attempted to adapt it to the needs of Irving pupils. (The "junior first grade" is an example of one such organizational change.)

Taking the city system as a whole, the pattern developed would seem to suit the needs of most children and teachers. The guides have been carefully developed by committees comprised of teachers and supervisory staff who have also had responsibility for selection of textbooks which articulate with the suggested goals and activities.

It is eminently clear, however, that principal and teachers of the Washington Irving School feel that they are unable to conform to the plan established for the city in consideration of differences in their pupil population. The major academic problems they cite are lack of cultural background, lack of reading ability, poor discipline, lack of home support of the school program, lack of desire to learn and poor speech habits. The primary concern they express in relation to anticipated integration of Negro and white children is that the Negro youngsters will not be able to measure up to the standards of other city schools.

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[1]The school was closed in the Fall of 1965 in line with the plan of superintendent Franklyn S. Barry, adopted by the Syracuse School Board, for the elimination of de facto segregation and the improvement of educational opportunity for all.

It may be discerned that a separate subject approach is used from the method of reporting. That is, grades are given in reading, English, spelling, penmanship, arithmetic, social studies, science, health and safety, in physical education, art and music, and in work habits and group relations. It is the writer's impression, however, that teachers have moved towards the unit approach in teaching, and that problems in social studies, or science, or safety may be worked out in fulfillment of curriculum objectives. The language arts have not been perceived as a focus for teaching, but opportunities in the other areas are used advantageously to develop language skills as they present themselves. Arithmetic, reading and language skills are viewed separately; moreover, "language arts" and "reading" are considered as individual teaching situations.

Organization

The organization of classes is traditional, although newer plans are being considered under the auspices of the Madison Area Project. Team teaching and the ungraded primary are anticipated in the immediate future. The team approach to reading was developed on a trial basis a number of years ago in the sixth grade, but was abandoned because of problems in its administration.

Bridging the gap between kindergarten and first grade has been a major problem from the point of view of the staff because children are not ready for the reading experiences at that level. For this reason a level intermediate between kindergarten and grade one has been established - the "junior first grade." These children, usually no more than 25, are given readiness experiences and move along to grade one, or two, as immediately as they are ready to do so. Formal promotion periods are not awaited in the progress of these children.

Three special classes for educable retarded children (I.Q. 50-75) are a part of the program.

Co-Curricular Activities

The program extends in its scope to include field trips for enrichment made possible by funds from the Madison Area Project. The Junior League offers a "Higher Horizons" program of concerts, puppet shows, dramatizations,

etc. once a month. Assembly programs and films are planned to supplement classroom experiences.

Children are encouraged to contribute to bulletin board themes adopted by the whole school. Art projects are liberally displayed throughout the halls.

The "Able" program, an enriched intensified experience for underachievers, and "Mental Health Classes" in which children meet to discuss problems of personal and social living are pointed to as recent extensions of the curriculum in which there is considerable instrument of professional interest.

A volunteer program of tutoring, and a school newspaper are among the adjunces presently being developed.

Parents and Schools

Parents meet each month under the organizational plan which they have adopted. They contribute to the school program by such activities as assisting with registration, sponsoring parties on holidays, collecting good used clothing for children, and similar functions. The parents have been responsible for establishing a school library. They are represented on numerous committees concerned with program planning and are frequent visitors to the school as aids to personnel.

Resources

Staff

The pupil teacher ratio at Irving is slightly under the City mean of 29.4 at the elementary level; approaching 27 or 28 to one.[1]

The teachers are described as well trained, having more than required minimum. A few have had courses in the new math, science, etc.

The majority are permanently certified. Nearly all hold Bachelors degrees, a few hold Masters degrees and a very few are below the baccalaurcate or above the Master's level.

The bulk of personnel have remained at the school for many years and the staff are considered stable in terms of

[1]Slight variation is reported during 1964-1965.

turnover. The largest single clusters in relation to service occur in the first year and in the tenth-year-or-longer category.

Auxiliary Teachers and Special Services

Resources among special teaching personnel for curricular areas include one full time music teacher; a physical education teacher four days; an art teacher, two days.

A nurse is in attendance four days; a speech therapist is available as registration demands. Visiting teacher, counsellor, remedial reading specialist and helping teacher, are scheduled for five days per week. A psychologist is available twenty hours; a psychiatric social worker for two and one-half days; and an attendance teacher one-third time.

The availability of special services is particularly impressive in relation to the city as a whole. This is certainly a function of special funds available, but primarily a matter of the unique needs of these pupils and the efforts of school personnel to meet them. Special funds have been sought, and professional attention directed towards the problem in response to the apparent urgency of the matter.

Madison Area Project (MAP) has brought in speakers who are authorities in the teaching of culturally deprived children to serve as in-service resource for teachers.

Library

A central library, being developed by the parent organization, is still embryonic. Classroom libraries and trips to the municipal library are currently serving school needs.

Materials and Equipment

Instructional supplies are provided on the same basis as for the other schools. On the whole the volume and variety are still below the level of need. Audiovisual supplies, supplementary books and science equipment have been somewhat more plentiful since the inception of MAP. Workbooks must be purchased by the children.

In addition to regular school supplies, television, tape recorder, library books, enrichment material, art materials, programmed instruction and teaching machines have been made available.

Building

The school is sturdily built, well-maintained and will serve for many more years. It contains an auditorium-gymnasium; an office suite; a suite for visiting teacher, nurse and dental hygienist; special rooms for art, tutoring, shop, speech, counsellor, curriculum coordinator, and teachers' room. A library room has been set aside for development. Three classrooms for the mentally retarded, four kindergartens and twenty-seven classrooms round out the picture.

There is an area in which the children play and cars are parked, but it is extremely inadequate and is not equipped.

One aspect of the program cannot be stated in objective terms for it is rather intangible. One comes away with a picture of a school in transition. Its professional personnel manifest an unspoken awareness of the inadequacy of the traditional approach for meeting the unique needs of their pupils. Goals are being re-examined and new means of reaching them are being explored. The feeling of change is everywhere.[1]

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